

EGITTO

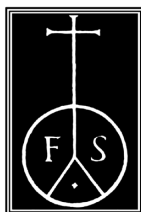
DAI FARAONI AGLI ARABI

ATTI DEL CONVEGNO

EGITTO: AMMINISTRAZIONE, ECONOMIA,
SOCIETÀ, CULTURA DAI FARAONI AGLI ARABI
ÉGYPTE: ADMINISTRATION, ÉCONOMIE,
SOCIÉTÉ, CULTURE DES PHARAONS AUX ARABES

MILANO, UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI, 7-9 GENNAIO 2013

A CURA DI
SILVIA BUSSI



PISA · ROMA
FABRIZIO SERRA EDITORE
MMXIII

Pubblicato con il contributo PRIN 2009 e del Dipartimento di Studi letterari, filologici e linguistici dell'Università degli Studi di Milano.

★

Sono rigorosamente vietati la riproduzione, la traduzione, l'adattamento, anche parziale o per estratti, per qualsiasi uso e con qualsiasi mezzo effettuati, compresi la copia fotostatica, il microfilm, la memorizzazione elettronica, ecc., senza la preventiva autorizzazione scritta della *Fabrizio Serra editore*, Pisa · Roma.
Ogni abuso sarà perseguito a norma di legge.

★

Proprietà riservata · All rights reserved
© Copyright 2013 by *Fabrizio Serra editore*, Pisa · Roma.
Fabrizio Serra editore incorporates the Imprints *Accademia editoriale*,
Edizioni dell'Ateneo, *Fabrizio Serra editore*, *Giardini editori e stampatori in Pisa*,
Gruppo editoriale internazionale and *Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali*.

www.libraweb.net

Uffici di Pisa: Via Santa Bibbiana 28, I 56127 Pisa
tel. +39 050542332, fax +39 050574888, fse@libraweb.net
Uffici di Roma: Via Carlo Emanuele I 48, I 00185 Roma
tel. +39 0670493456, fax +39 0670476605, fse.roma@libraweb.net

★

ISBN 978-88-6227-640-5 (BROSSURA)
ISBN 978-88-6227-641-2 (RILEGATO)
ISBN 978-88-6227-642-9 (ELETTRONICO)

SOMMARIO

SILVIA BUSSI, <i>Premessa</i>	9
PATRIZIA PIACENTINI, <i>Introduzione alla giornata dedicata all'Egitto faraonico e copto</i>	11
SILVIA BUSSI, <i>Introduzione alle giornate ellenistica, romana e tardoantica</i>	13
EDDA BRESCIANI, <i>Presentazione</i>	15
PASCAL VERNUS, <i>L'acte fondamental du pouvoir dans l'Égypte pharaonique: l'ordre royal' (oudj-nesou)</i>	21
PATRIZIA PIACENTINI, <i>Beginning, Continuity and Transformations of the Egyptian Administration in the IIIrd Millennium BC: the Scribal Titles</i>	37
STEPHEN QUIRKE, <i>Fragment Epistemology? Profiling the Society and Economy of Late Middle Kingdom Lahun</i>	47
CHRISTIAN ORSENIGO, « Venite a me, voi che desiderate vedere Amon! »: Amenhotep figlio di Hapu negli Archivi di Egittologia dell'Università degli Studi di Milano	59
WILLY CLARYSSE, <i>The Use of Demotic in the Ptolemaic Administration</i>	69
ANNE-EMANUELLE VEÏSSE, <i>L'expression de l'identité dans les pétitions d'époque ptolémaïque. Étude préliminaire</i>	81
KATELIJN VANDORPE, <i>A Happiness Index for Antiquity? Hellenistic Egypt as a Case-Study</i>	91
GILLES GORRE, SYLVIE HONIGMAN, <i>Kings, Taxes and High Priests: Comparing the Ptolemaic and Seleukid Policies</i>	105
SILVIA BUSSI, <i>Fiscalità e templi nell'Egitto tolemaico</i>	121
CHATARINE LORBER, <i>The Grand Mutation: Ptolemaic Bronze Currency in the Second Century B.C.</i>	135
BERNARD LEGRAS, <i>Autour du papyrus dit de Cléopâtre: les prostagmata lagides et les interactions romano-égyptiennes</i>	159
LUIGI GALLO, <i>Aspetti demografici dell'Egitto greco-romano</i>	173
BARBARA ANAGNOSTOU-CANAS, <i>Les prêtres de Bacchias face à l'administration romaine</i>	183
KAI RUFFING, <i>The Trade with India and the Problem of Agency in the Economy of the Roman Empire</i>	199
MARIA FEDERICA PETRACCIA, <i>Il ruolo dell'esercito in occasione dello scisma donatista e il trattato contro i Donatisti di Optatus Milevitanus</i>	211
TITO ORLANDI, <i>La copticità dell'Egitto copto</i>	229
MARCO DI BRANCO, <i>Alla conquista del passato: la storia dell'antico Egitto vista dagli Arabi</i>	241
DANIELE FORABOSCHI, <i>Conclusioni</i>	251
<i>Recapiti dei collaboratori del volume</i>	259

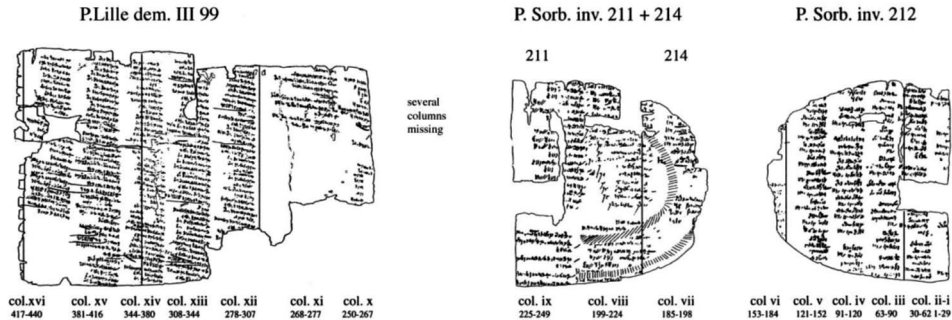


Titos Flavios Demetrios (Ipswich Museum).

THE USE OF DEMOTIC IN THE PTOLEMAIC ADMINISTRATION

WILLY CLARYSSE

2 + 3 recto



2 + 3 verso

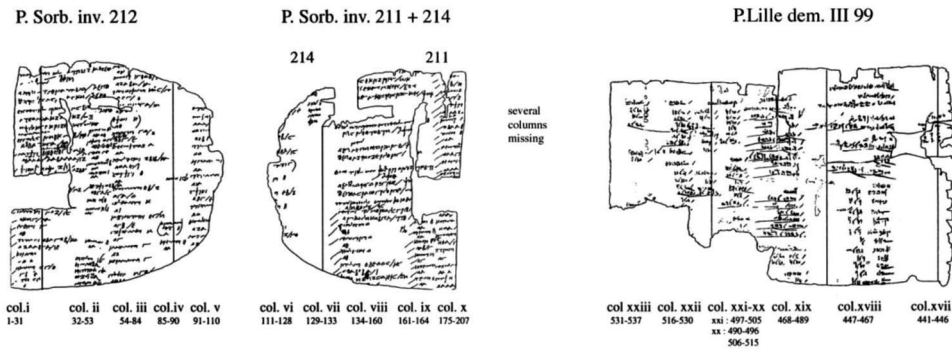


FIG. 1. The tax roll *P. Count 2 + 3*.

THE recto of *P. Count 2-3* once contained a long demotic list of nearly 11000 persons, organised district per district (5 districts), village by village (5 x 7 villages, though it is uncertain whether every district had the same number of villages), occupation by occupation (*ethnos*), household by household, and person by person. Every person received a single line, and extra lines were needed for occupations, for village names and for totals after every occupation and every village. The scribes needed at least 12.000 lines, or 400 columns of 30 lines. Since each column measured about 5 cm at least 20 meters of papyrus were needed, of which ca. 75 cm. are left now. Every village is followed by a total for each occupation, divided by males and females. These village totals are grouped in *P. Count 3*,

written on the back of the roll, in Greek. This is hardly possible with such a long roll unless the figures were first written (in demotic or in Greek) on a separate piece of papyrus. The totals for the whole area (the 35 villages) at the very end (*P. Count* 2 ll. 468-477) are based on the figures in the Greek part of the text, but they are again written in demotic.

I have chosen this text as starting point for a brief and very sketchy survey of the use of demotic in the Ptolemaic administration. Especially in the Fayum and Middle Egypt, most Ptolemaic papyri (with the exception of the Zenon archive) derive from papyrus cartonnage of human mummies or from the stuffing of sacred crocodiles. As shown by Roger Bagnall cartonnage papyri were bought in bulk and heavily dominated by government files. «These are varied in contents and include correspondence, tax documents, officially deposited contracts and wills, legal texts and other matter». ¹ Bagnall's picture is based on the published Greek papyri, which are far more numerous than demotic, but it also applies to the demotic material.

Thanks to the Trismegistos database in Leuven it is easy to find the main groups of texts that were reused as cartonnage papyri, such as *P. Petrie*, *P. Gurob*, *P. Hibeh*, *P. Lille*, *P. Sorb.*, *P. Erasm.* and a few others. Trismegistos currently² list 3258 papyri from cartonnage, of which 2906 are Greek, 213 demotic (less than 10 %) and 131 bilingual demotic-Greek (rarely Greek-demotic).

The following types are the most frequent:

	GREEK	DEMOTIC
literary	287	15
letters, memoranda, reports	741	33
contracts	338	136 [of which 84 surety contracts]
accounts, lists, registers	622	71
declarations, oaths	70	19
receipts	158	22
orders (for payment)	142	0
petitions	393	1

A few words of comment may help to explain the above figures. There are few literary texts: Greek administrators sometimes copied literature in their office,³ but demotic literature was confined to the temple environment. There are no demotic petitions: petitioners always address the king and his officials in Greek.

¹ R. S. BAGNALL, *Reading papyri, writing ancient history* («Approaching the Ancient World»), London-New York, 1995, pp. 26-27.

² January 1 of 2013.

³ The best known example are the literary texts among the Hibeh papyri, for which see M. R. FALIVENE, *The literary papyri from Al-Hiba: a new approach* (Akten des 21. intern. Papyrologenkongresses Berlin) («APF», Beiheft 3), pp. 273-280; ID., *Greek anthologies on papyrus and their readers in early Ptolemaic Egypt* (Proceedings of the 25th international congress of papyrology Ann Arbor), «American Studies in Papyrology», 2010, pp. 207-215.

There are no orders for payment: inside the administration payment orders are all in Greek. Demotic letters, memoranda and reports are rare. Most of the numerous contracts are surety contracts in the Sorbonne collection (see below), which are all from the same office and were collected by F. de Cenival in a kind of corpus. There are hardly any papyri from a temple context or a funerary context.⁴

The publications of demotic cartonnage papyri in the Sorbonne collection by Henri Sottas, Fr. de Cenival and a few others account for about 130 documents out of the total of 330 demotic and bilingual documents, i.e. nearly half of our documentation. For other collections only a tiny minority of well-known types, such as contracts and letters were published, e.g. of the Petrie papyri some fifty large papyri are kept in the Ashmolean and hundreds of fragments in Trinity College Dublin, but thus far only two letters and a few tax lists are published.⁵ The cartonnage from Rifeh, described and partly translated by H. Thompson, contains 61 items.⁶ In Berkeley the demotic texts of the Menches archive and others in the same crocodiles remain largely unknown.⁷ Sottas and de Cenival published texts of many different kinds,⁸ and their publications dominate the picture of how scholars see this kind of source material.

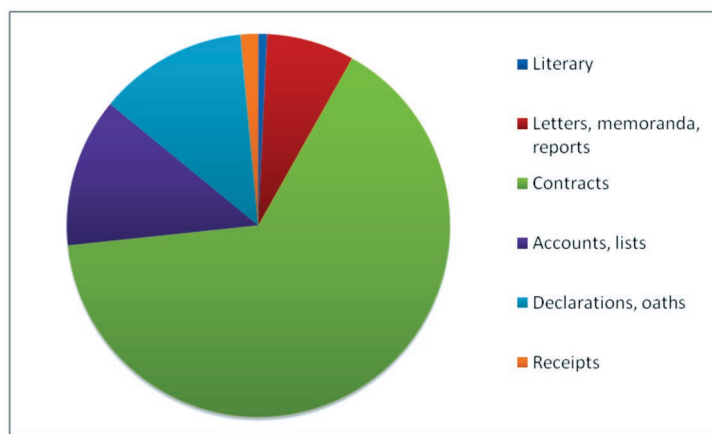


FIG. 2. Demotic Sorbonne papyri, published [sp. of oaths in chart].

⁴ The main exception is the small archive of the temple of Bastet in Tholthis in the Oxyrhynchite nome, recently published by W. CLARYSSE, U. LUFT, *Demotic contracts between sculptors and the Bastet temple at Tholthis*, in C. Zivie-Coche, I. Guermeur (éds.), *Parcourir l'éternité. Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, 1 («BEHE», 156), 2012, pp. 323-335.

⁵ See W. CLARYSSE, M. DEPAUW, *Two demotic letters from a village scribe of Alexandrou Nesos*, in H. Knuf e.a. (edd.), *Honi soi qui mal y pense*, in *Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen* («Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta», 194), Leuven, 2010, pp. 147-152 [two letters by a village scribes]; *P. Count* 9-10 [tax lists].

⁶ H. THOMPSON, in W. M. F. PETRIE, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, London, 1907, pp. 30-39; two items are now published as *P. Count* 53-54.

⁷ For these, see now B. MUHS, *A late Ptolemaic grapheion archive in Berkeley* (Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Papyrology), Ann Arbor, 2010, pp. 581-588.

⁸ *P. Lille dem.* 1-III and many individual papyri published later by de Cenival. These will be grouped and reedited in a volume *P. Sorb. dem.* 1.

Within the published part of the Sorbonne collection contracts make up about three thirds of the demotic papyri. Of these 88 contracts no less than 72 are surety contracts, published by Sottas (*P. Lille dem.* 1-11) and de Cenival (*P. Lille dem.* II 6, 7, 9, 34-96). I have joined about twenty of these with each other, and added numerous fragments to the published texts, but a lot of unplaced fragments remain.

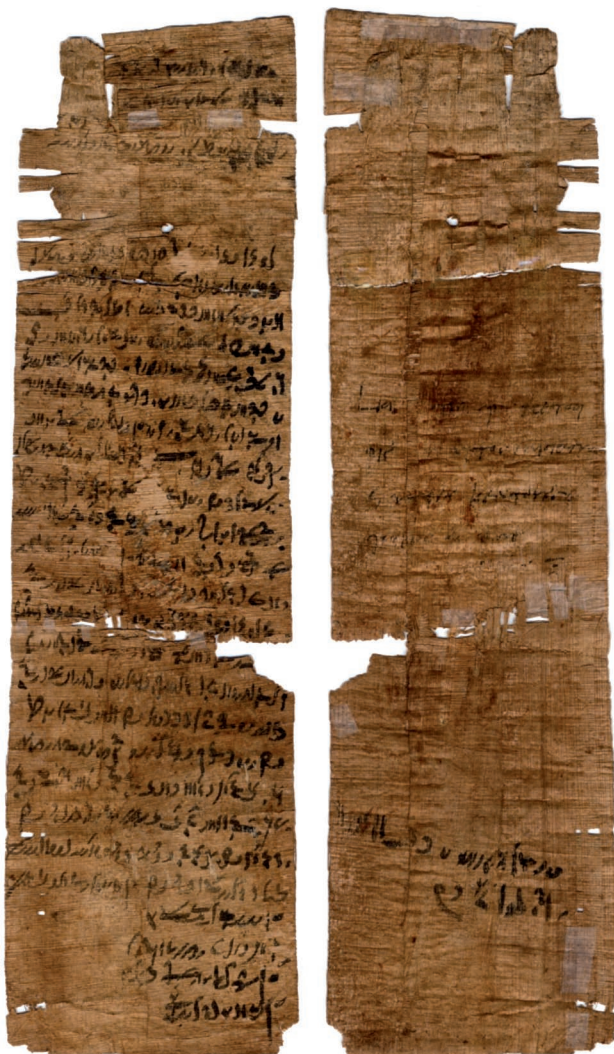
Nearly all demotic surety contracts are written for people working in the service of the 'royal economy', most of them in the brewery sector. They are addressed to the *oikonomos* of the *meris* and the royal scribe/*topogrammateus*, the former having a Greek name and no patronymic, the latter having an Egyptian name and a patronymic. They are double documents, with a short scriptura interior which could be rolled and sealed (there is a hole for a string, but no seals are preserved) and a full scriptura exterior signed by a scribe and several witnesses. With a few uncertain exceptions they range from 226 to 221 BC and clearly form an archive, i.e. a group of texts which was kept together in antiquity.⁹ The archive keeper was either the *oikonomos* or the royal scribe or *topogrammateus*. On the back of most, perhaps originally of all of them, was a short abstract in Greek, giving the date, the names of the guarantors and guarantees, their occupation and provenance, the reason for the surety (*ektisis*, payment or *monê*, promise to stay on the job) and the sums involved. Most of these abstracts were written with a *kalamos*, but several with a rush, probably by scribes who got their education in native surroundings. The abstracts are not mere translations of the demotic, e.g. in *P. Lille dem.* II 49 (the text is still incomplete, but I hope to identify the missing top and bottom fragments) the guarantor *Hr-p3-bik* son of *P3-dl-Wsîr* and *T3-šr.t-n-B3st.t* is a 'carrier of the gods' of the 'Foundation of Thoth' in demotic; in Greek he becomes Harbichis son of Petosiris, donkey-driver, and his village is Philagris.

Surety contracts are easy to recognise because of their high and narrow format and their formulaic character. They form the largest group among the published Sorbonne papyri because de Cenival has searched them out, and I did the same with the unpublished material, so that my database currently holds 181 of them, but this number will certainly be reduced by new joins. In fact it is surprising that these long narrow documents with their sealed scripturae interiores were used in cartonnage, unless they were first opened and perhaps even arranged in the form of a *tomos synkollesimos*.

Anyhow, the government office of the *topogrammateus* (or of the *oikonomos*) accepted surety documents written in demotic, even for Greek guarantees like Artemidoros son of Agathon, who needed sureties for work with natron according to the cautionnements, and pays the nitrikê tax in a Petrie papyrus,¹⁰ and for Greek guarantors. The surety documents apparently combine Greek and Egyptian law: when in *P. Lille dem.* 81 (with new fragments) Philotera daughter of Demetrios, acts as surety together with two Egyptian women, her brother Kyros appears as

⁹ For a description of the archive, see <http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/detail.php?tm=47&i=1>.

¹⁰ Artemidoros is mentioned in *P. Lille dem.* II 45 + 76, 77, 82, 84 and in the unpublished fragments Sorbonne inv. 1253, 1258 and 1278a; he pays nitrikê in *P. Petrie* II 27 (3) a + b ll. 7 and 36 [see TM Person 22092].



P. Lille dém. 35 (Inv. 564a)
+ P. Lille dém. 44 (Inv. 781)
+ 1 fr. d'Inv. 809
r^o

P. Lille dém. 35 (Inv. 564a)
+ P. Lille dém. 44 (Inv. 781)
+ 1 fr. d'Inv. 809
v^o

her guarantor in the second degree. No doubt this is an Egyptian way of mentioning her *kyrios* (no second guarantor is needed for her Egyptian colleagues). For internal use (and classification?) within the office, however, each text received a Greek abstract on its back.

The administrative procedure in the archive of the nomarches Diogenes is similar.¹¹ In this archive, written a generation earlier (256-250 BC), were found some

¹¹ For this archive, see <http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/detail.php?tm=68&i=1>.

thirteen declarations of small cattle.¹² The owner of sheep and goats declares his cattle to the *nomarches*, with figures for each category (sheep, lambs, goats, kids), and swears a royal oath that the figures are exact. The texts are again double documents with a scriptura interior and exterior. The Greek abstracts are written at the bottom this time, not on the verso. A new edition of this group of texts is being prepared by S. P. Vleeming and a few new items have been added to the group.

Aristarchos was a colleague of Diogenes and I have recently (re)edited his archive in *P. Sorb.* III 75-102. In the publications of Jouguet (*P. Lille* I 12-17), Boyaval (CRIPEL 1, 1973, pp. 193-215) and Cadell (*P. Sorb.* I 32) this looked a purely Greek archive, but I identified several demotic texts addressed to Aristarchos and reused as cartonnage in the same mummies.

P. Sorb. 76	declaration by Harchebis myriarouros	Greek abstract below
P. Sorb. 78	lease of land with royal oath and surety	Greek abstract below
P. Sorb. 81	receipt with royal oath	Greek abstract below
P. Sorb. 83	royal oath	Greek abstract below
P. Sorb. 85	letter by a <i>myriarouros</i>	[end not preserved]
Sorb. 2735	statement under oath	Greek abstract below
inv. 747	statement (fragmentary)	Greek abstract below, mentioning Harchebis <i>myriarouros</i>
inv. 749	demotic text with royal oath (?)	year 38; Greek abstract below, mentioning Teos the younger, builder
inv. 1197 (St. Bresciani)	contract of lease of land	only demotic; mention of Maimachos

In the above list I have added to the Aristarchos dossier TM 45866, published by M. Betrò in the *Festschrift* for Edda Bresciani, a demotic contract of lease dated to year 6 of Euergetes and written in the form of a double document. Its date and its inventory number 1197, would fit the archive of Aristarchos (*P. Sorb.* III 76 has the inventory number 1186). During a session of the Equipe Fonds Jouguet Démotique (EFJD),¹³ the research group for demotic documents at the Sorbonne directed by M. Chauveau and M.-P. Chauffray, we deciphered the name of Aristarchos' colleague Maimachos (instead of Medikos) in l. 15. Our new readings in

¹² *P. Lille dem.* I 12-20; F. DE CENIVAL, *Recherches de Papyrologie*, 4 (1967), pp. 99-106.

¹³ The EFJD team consists of eleven members: Brigitte Bakech, Marie-Pierre Chaufray, Michel Chauveau, Willy Clarysse, Déborah Kott, Lorenzo Medini, Andrew Monson, Amaury Pétigny, Serge Rosmorduc, Lorenzo Uggetti and Stéphanie Wackénier.

this text and in many others are in part due to the excellent infrared photographs made by Adam Bülow-Jacobson.

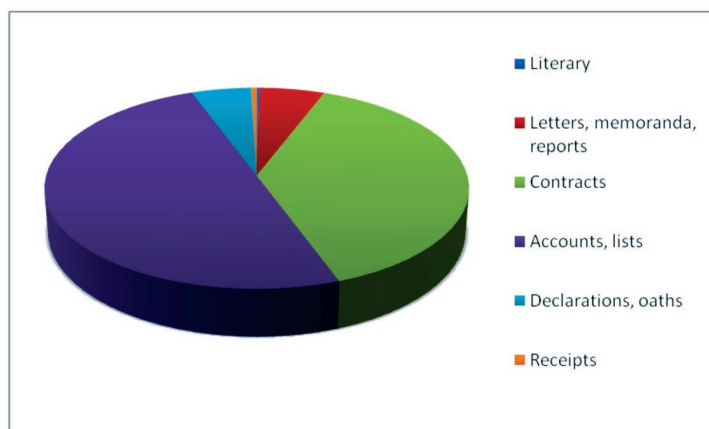


FIG. 3. Demotic papyri in the Sorbonne collection, including unpublished material.

Except for the cautionnements, the declarations of small cattle and a few texts in the archive of Aristarchos, the overwhelming majority of the demotic papyri from Ghoran cartonnage are lists and accounts. Most are written in columns, very often a column with names followed by a shorter column with figures, either amounts of money or numbers of arourae. I have gone through all the texts which have received an inventory number, counting individual texts, but often rather the folders in which the papyri are preserved (each folder may contain up to 20 or 30 fragments, which are not always part of the same document; on the other hand, accounts and lists can be very long and their fragments may be split up over several folders). As a result of this work, the number of lists and accounts has nearly tripled and, in this part of the collection, they make up more than half of the texts. Whereas, however, nearly all Greek texts in the collection have received an inventory number, this is not the case for demotic texts. A large cupboard, with seven drawers full of paper folders, each folder filled with dozens of papyrus fragments, is still waiting to be studied more than a century after Jouguet's excavation: most did not even receive permanent inventory numbers. This group of several hundred fragments (not counting those that have only postage stamp seize) consists largely of demotic papyri. I went through some folders, and again accounts and lists constitute the bulk of this part of the collection: I found only few fragments of contracts and letters and no surety documents or letters here. Though there was no time for a systematic study of these texts, it is clear that in the Sorbonne cartonnage papyri demotic texts are far more numerous than Greek texts, though at present 352 Greek texts have been published, 69 bilingual texts (Demotic with Greek abstract more often than Greek) and 71 demotic texts. When the demotic part of the collection will become available, lists and accounts will take up even more space than in the pie chart above. More

important, however, is the result that our picture of the lower ranks of Ptolemaic administration will surely be overhauled. Many of the unpublished texts contain names of Greek land-owners and tax-payers: demotic in cartonnage does not deal with temple life, but is part of the Ptolemaic administration as much as the Greek material. These texts may shed an unexpected light upon the way the country was managed in the third century BC.

I hope to have made clear what a tiny part of the demotic material has been published so far, thanks mainly to the work of Françoise de Cenival. Alongside *P. Lille dem.* III in 2011, she published several texts in a series of articles. These are now studied again by the EFJD group mentioned above. Thanks to the excellent infrared photographs made by A. Bülow Jacobson and by comparing the texts with unpublished material, we have made substantial progress in reading and interpretation. As an example I present here *P. Sorb. inv.* 209-213, first published by in the *Livre du Centenaire de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* (MIFAO 104, 1980), p. 195-203. I have underlined the passages where our reading and/or interpretation differs from that of the editio princeps.

de Cenival:

Verso

col. iii

- 9 champs des trois villages [susdits?]: blé 80 artabes;
- 10 reste de la redevance de l'an 18 des trois villages: blé 80 artabes.

col. iv

- 1 le 17th;
- 2 montant de l'impôt: 3.100; couronne de l'an 19: 7 artabes de blé;
- 3 ration hny: 3 art. de blé; apports (iny): 2 art. de blé, total: 12 art.;
- 4 an 18; pour la couronne: 7 art. de blé; ration hny: 3 art. de blé;
- 5 pour l'apport (iny): 2 art. de blé, total: 12 art. de blé.

Corrected translation:

Verso

col. iii

- 9 fields of Trikomia: 80 artabas of wheat;
- 10 rest of the dues for year 18 for Trikomia: 80 artabas of wheat.

col. iv

- 1 the 17th;
- 2 the cavalrymen owning 100 arourai (hekatontarouroi) : ¹⁴ crown tax (stephanos) for year 19: 7 art. of wheat;
- 3 police tax (phylakitikon): 3 art. of wheat; doctor's tax (iatrikon): 2 art. of wheat, total: 12 art.;
- 4 an 18; for crown tax (stephanos): 7 art. of wheat; police tax (phylakitikon): 3 art. of wheat;
- 5 for doctor's tax (iatrikon): 2 art. of wheat, total: 12 art. of wheat.

¹⁴ Reading due to A. Monson.

According to S. Scheuble, *Die Katökenreiter im ptolemaischen Aegypten* («Vestigia», 64), 2012, p. 242 the *iatrikon* «würde als jährliche Steuer auferlegt und war in der Regel in Getreide zu entrichten. Normalerweise betrug die Abgabe zwei Artaben Weizen». For the *phylakitikon* Scheuble refers to S. von Reden, *Money in Ptolemaic Egyptian from the Macedonian conquest to the end of the second century BC*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 92-94: «Usually paid in grain on grain land; the *phylakitikon* might have been at around 2 ½ to 3 artabas of wheat for a hundred arourae». As to the crown tax (*stephanos*), von Reden, *ibidem*, p. 93 lists several Greek texts where this extraordinary tax is levied in kind together with *iatrikon* and *phylakitikon*.

To finish I present just a few better preserved items among the unpublished material.

– *P. Sorb. inv. 1353b*: account of land with produce; written on both sides, containing on the recto the end of column with figures and a second column with names; I read

the 'fields of the village' (twice);

the fields of the 'village of Apollonios', perhaps the village Apollonias??¹⁵

the fields of the great of thousand .krwts (clearly a Greek name).

– *P. Count 2* is now completed by several fragments, containing the missing foot of cols. x-xii (recto), corresponding to cols. xx-xxiii, and a large fragments containing 7 columns on the recto, joining to *P. Count 2* col. x (this column is now nearly complete) and immediately following (on the verso) col. xxiv. We now know that there were 232 ibis priests in this tax area, 77 dancers (*sompheis*), 167 *isionomoi*, 162 *pastophoroi*, 67 men of Anoubis and 59 funerary priests. All these are listed among those enjoying tax exemptions. Priests and their families now add up to at least 6,7 % and policemen to 3,8 % of the population.

A photograph at reduced size can be seen on the cover of S.P. Vleeming, *A Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents, Indexes of new and rejected readings*, Studia Demotica VII-C, Leuven 2013.

The bottom line of col. iii of the recto of the new text clearly reads 'Autoboulos son of Autonoos' followed by one line of (mainly) figures. This person with his rare name and patronymic is already attested in *P. Count 2* ll.331-341 as a rich cavalrymen, owning three or four slaves and over 700 sheep. In the new part of the text his name is followed in the next line by the word *hmꜣ* 'salt' (read by Mark Depauw), then the figure of 1200, then apparently 'his horse' and another group which I cannot read.

– I found several other lists where the population is divided by occupation and male/female and which may constitute a small new volume of *P. Count* [e.g. *P. Sorb. inv. 220*, 1285 and 2736]. One fragment even gives ages of the people involved, as in *P. Count 9*.

¹⁵ The accounts contain relatively few place names, perhaps because they were usually made on the level of a single village.

– *P. Sorb.* inv. 1359 is an account dated in year 17, no doubt of Euergetes.

Whereas the verso contains only figures, the recto also preserves a lot of names, nearly all Greek, e.g. Hermias, Damon, Thrason (?), *Qrsy3s* (Chrysias?), *Glwks* (Glaukos), Philippos, Menandros, *Pyt3s* (Pytheas?), followed by huge amounts of more than 1000, then a title, then more names and figures: Simos, Thibron, *3glnn*, Apollonios son of Dionysios, *Swls* (Zoilos?) son of Lysimach(os), Andronikos. If these are cleruchs we may possibly retrace some of them in a Greek text, which could allow to identify their village.

It is extremely difficult to count the number of accounts and lists because what we have are just fragments of sometimes very long texts. *P. Count* 2 and 3 form a good example: this is one of the best preserved accounts (16 columns on the recto alone), but – as just noted – of a roll that was over 20 m long a mere 75 cm are left. The first task ahead is to identify fragments of the same account in the collection. This should be possible because fragments tend to stay together even after the cartonnage has been resolved; one can use the script (recto/verso or only recto), the lay-out of the text (including the *wp-st* sign and check marks in some accounts and lists), the type of text (money, grain, land). The second step could then be to identify pieces belonging to the same archive.

The archives of Aristarchos and Diogenes probably also contained accounts, but whereas letters and contracts mention the name of the addressees, accounts give at this moment no clue as to which texts once belonged to which persons. For this we have to find persons or land or organisational items that recur in the letters and the accounts. In order to do so we need a much clearer view of what the accounts, often extremely succinct, consisting of headings (the most difficult part), names and figures, mean.

It is clear, however, that in the Ptolemaic period demotic was still in full use in the civil administration, especially on the local level. It is difficult to know, at this moment, in what circumstances demotic was used alongside Greek, because only a tiny part of demotic administrative documents are published or even described. Editors have generally preferred the more accessible notarial documents and the more attractive letters. In Paris, but also elsewhere, the overwhelming majority of demotic cartonnage papyri are accounts and lists, and these are far more preponderant than in the Greek texts. In my view this shows that the basic data, the data of the first round, were often compiled in demotic. In *P. Count* 2 and 3 the scribes change from demotic for the list of individual taxpayers followed by totals per village, to Greek for the list of totals only, and then, for the final sums on the verso, back to demotic (which had then, in the end, to be translated to Greek again for the central administration). When in Paris, I have great problems with numbers, and I cannot get used to *soixante dix-sept* or *quatre-vingt douze*. When I want to tell the conservator that I would like to see inventory number 1,373 I prefer to put it on piece of paper rather than struggling with ‘mille trois cent soixante treize’

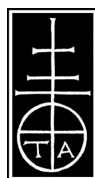
and getting it wrong in the end. Perhaps Egyptian scribes, working for the Greek administration, also continued to use demotic for figures (and for names) when writing for themselves. They then transposed their demotic accounts into Greek at the ultimate stage when the figures had to be given to the Greek administration on the level of the nome. I am sure we will find more examples where Demotic and Greek overlap, as in *P. Count* 2 and 3 and now again with inventory number treize cent quarante quatre. But for this we need the collaboration of a competent group of demotists to read and catalogue this enormous mass of texts. I am glad to be part of such a group at the Sorbonne and to dedicate this contribution to our collaboration.

COMPOSTO IN CARATTERE DANTE MONOTYPE DALLA
FABRIZIO SERRA EDITORE, PISA · ROMA.
STAMPATO E RILEGATO NELLA
TIPOGRAFIA DI AGNANO, AGNANO PISANO (PISA).

★

Ottobre 2013

(CZ 2 · FG 3)



*Tutte le riviste Online e le pubblicazioni delle nostre case editrici
(riviste, collane, varia, ecc.) possono essere ricercate bibliograficamente e richieste
(sottoscrizioni di abbonamenti, ordini di volumi, ecc.) presso il sito Internet :*

www.libraweb.net

*Per ricevere, tramite E-mail, periodicamente, la nostra newsletter/alert con l'elenco
delle novità e delle opere in preparazione, Vi invitiamo a sottoscriverla presso il nostro sito
Internet o a trasmettere i Vostri dati (Nominativo e indirizzo E-mail) all'indirizzo :*

newsletter@libraweb.net

★

*Computerized search operations allow bibliographical retrieval of the Publishers' works
(Online journals, journals subscriptions, orders for individual issues, series, books, etc.)
through the Internet website :*

www.libraweb.net

*If you wish to receive, by E-mail, our newsletter/alert with periodic information
on the list of new and forthcoming publications, you are kindly invited to subscribe it at our
web-site or to send your details (Name and E-mail address) to the following address :*

newsletter@libraweb.net

